

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----104972 101112Z /10

P R 101054Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4626
AMEMBASSY BERLIN PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 00402

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, GE, GW
SUBJECT: GDR OPPOSITION MANIFESTO

REFS: (A) BERLIN 00024 (B) BONN 00302

SUMMARY. AS A CONTRIBUTION TO WASHINGTON'S AND EMBASSY
BERLIN'S ANALYSES, WE ARE REPORTING THE FOLLOWING CON-
VERSATION WITH A POLITICAL JOURNALIST HERE ABOUT THE
SED OPPOSITION "MANIFESTO" PUBLISHED IN SPIEGEL. AC-
CORDING TO THE JOURNALIST, WHO HAS EXCELLENT CONTACTS

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IN EAST BERLIN, THE DOCUMENT IS AUTHENTIC. HE BELIEVES
ITS AUTHORSHIP AND PUBLICATION INVOLVE SEVERAL GROUPS
OF EAST GERMAN PARTY OFFICIALS AND INTELLECTUALS.
END SUMMARY

1. A POLITICAL JOURNALIST WHO HAS EXCELLENT CONTACTS
IN EAST BERLIN HAS TOLD THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR THAT

THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SED OPPOSITION "MANIFESTO" PUBLISHED IN SPIEGEL (REF A). HE SAID THE DOCUMENT WAS ABSOLUTELY GENUINE AND NOT A WORD WAS CHANGED. HE BELIEVES HE KNOWS SOME OF THE AUTHORS AS WELL AS THE PERSON WHO PASSED IT TO SPIEGEL.

2. ACCORDING TO THIS JOURNALIST, THREE DIFFERENT EAST GERMAN GROUPS MAY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN AUTHORSHIP AND PUBLICATION OF THE "MANIFESTO."

3. -- THE FIRST GROUP WERE SED MEMBERS, NOT AT THE "HIGHEST" (CENTRAL COMMITTEE) LEVEL BUT AT THE MIDDLE LEVEL. SOME OF THEM MIGHT ALSO BE YOUNGER DISILLUSIONED, SED MEMBERS. IT WAS THIS GROUP WHICH PRODUCED THE SECOND PART OF THE "MANIFESTO" PUBLISHED IN THE JANUARY 9 SPIEGEL, THE PART THAT IS BOTH MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE IN EAST GERMAN TERMS BECAUSE OF ITS PUGNACIOUS STYLE AND BECAUSE SOME OF THE SALACIOUS STORIES REVEALED IN THIS PORTION HAVE NOT TO DATE BEEN GENERALLY KNOWN THROUGHOUT THE GDR.

4. -- THE SECOND GROUP ARE INTELLECTUALS, PERHAPS AT THE ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OR INSTRUCTOR LEVEL AT A UNIVERSITY. THIS GROUP WROTE THE FIRST PART OF THE "MANIFESTO," THE PART DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL MAT-
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TERS AND IDEOLOGICAL POINTS. THE JOURNALIST BELIEVES IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS GROUP WAS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE BY THE FIRST GROUP IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE "MANIFESTO" WITH AN INTELLECTUAL GLOSS THAT WOULD MAKE IT MORE IMPORTANT AS AN IDEOLOGICAL DOCUMENT. OTHERWISE, IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DISMISSED AS GOSSIP.

5. -- THE THIRD GROUP, MORE ST PROBABLY RELATED TO THE FIRST THAN TO THE SECOND, WAS THE ONE THAT DECIDED TO ARRANGE FOR PUBLICATION IN THE WEST. THE JOURNALIST SAYS HE BELIEVED THIS WAS DONE WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE STOPH FACTION WITHIN THE SED, A FACTION THAT HE BELIEVES IS INTERESTED IN TIGHTENING GDR ADMINISTRATION AND

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EFFICIENCY. HE ALSO DESCRIBED IT AS A MORE
"NATIONALIST" GROUP, THOUGH THAT NATIONALISM SHOULD BE
PERCEIVED IN GDR RATHER THAN ALL-GERMAN TERMS. THE
JOURNALIST BELIEVES THAT, WITHOUT PARTICIPATION BY
THIS THIRD GROUP AND WITHOUT SOME INDICATION OF PRO-
TECTION FROM ABOVE, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN SUICIDE FOR
ANYONE OR ANY GROUP TO HAVE PASSED THIS DOCUMENT TO
THE WEST. HE NOTED, IN ADDITION, THAT ONLY A
SOPHISTICATED POLITICAL AGITATOR WOULD HAVE UNDERSTOOD
THE IMPORTANCE OF BRINGING OUT SUCH A DOCUMENT OVER THE
CHRISTMAS-NEW YEARS PERIOD, WHEN THERE IS NOTHING ELSE
TO DISTRACT PEOPLE'S ATTENTION.

6. THE JOURNALIST SAID THAT THE THIRD GROUP HAD
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PROBABLY NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN WRITING THE "MANIFESTO,"
BUT HAD LEARNED OF IT AFTERWARDS AND HAD DECIDED TO USE
IT. HE DID NOT SUGGEST AN ORGANIC, OR PERMANENT, RE-
LATION BETWEEN ANY OF THE THREE GROUPS, BUT MUTUAL
AWARENESS.

7. THE JOURNALIST ALSO MENTIONED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A VISIT FROM A REGULAR SOVIET EMBASSY CONTACT WHO APPEARED QUITE IRRITATED BY THE DOCUMENT, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF ITS CONTENT BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SOVIET RELATIONS WITH BOTH GERMANIES.

8. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE JOURNALIST OBSERVED THAT THE REACTION OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN BONN DID NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN EAST BERLIN, SINCE ABRASIMOV (WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS A HONECKER-HATER), MAY WELL HAVE KNOWN ABOUT THE DOCUMENT AND EVEN ABOUT ITS POTENTIAL PUBLICATION, BUT WOULD SIMPLY NOT HAVE INFORMED FALIN.
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